What Poland Fears in Prague, P. 2

This Is The Real Warning That Needs to Be Sounded on the Poor Peoples March

"To dwell now on the riot potential and on law enforcement capabilities and on the use of gas and mass arrests is to miss the major point and that is that we have problems in this country that must be resolved, that one of them is the immense, the difficult plight of the poor in America today that has to be addressed and addressed courageously by all of our people."

—Attorney General Ramsey Clark on ABC's Issues and Answers May 12 after a series of alarmist and inflammatory questions about the Poor People's March.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

Now Published Bi-Weekly

VOL. XVI, NO. 11 MAY 27, 1968 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20 CENTS

Not A Sick Society, But Too Rigid to Save Itself

The race is on in our society between its constructive capacity and a growing revolt—for it is time to abandon euphemisms about riots—of black against white. The most revealing footnote to the crisis inexorably moving down upon us here in the capital was a small advertisement not much more than one inch square in the *Washington Post* May 21, strategically placed at the end of a story about the plans of the Poor People's March for its first local parade—

Boarding Up of Houses and Businesses
Vandalized or Vacant
WE PROTECT WHAT IS LEFT
Emergency Services Radio Dispatched
737-4477
ANY TIME

The question is whether enough pressure can be organized around the country to force action by Congress on poverty or whether we head for another spasm of city-burning in which all we can do is call out the troops and—in the words of that ad—protect what is left.

Too Many Paul Reveres?

It is not for lack of alarms and alarmists. No period ever had so many Paul Reveres. But the net effect on substantial portions of the population is to get them so used to alarms that they have no difficulty in turning over and going back to sleep. The Poor Peoples March on Washington needs to be matched among the prosperous by a campaign for a reordering of our national priorities. Otherwise the Poor Peoples March will prove a time-fuse, setting off new conflagrations. The time may be shorter than any of us realize. The only course commensurate with the nation's needs is to end the war in Vietnam and make the war on poverty our No. 1 business. But while the President talks about realism in a speech to the Arthritis Association, he himself persists in his bombing of North Vietnam, refusing to take the first step toward ending this mindless conflict.

The prime danger to our country lies in the immobility of its institutions and its social conditionings, class and racial. A prime example of the institutional inertia lies in the latest budget requests from the Pentagon. A survey in the *Washington Post* May 19 disclosed that the total requests of the military to the new Secretary of Defense for fiscal 1969 is $102 billions, the highest in history, a billion more than the requests a year ago to Secretary McNamara and $23 billions more than the projected 1968 budget. It is as if the Pentagon, with all its 16 outside "think tanks" (at a cost of $1.7 billions) and the untold billions we spend on the world's largest intelligence network, is unaware that the dollar is in trouble, the price of gold rising again, and an army gathering within sight of the Pentagon whose disappointed hopes may prove more dangerous than any foreign foe. The military go on with their expensive and lunatic games, squandering hundreds of millions on all kinds of fantastic new weapons, already thinking of World Wars IV and V. It is spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in universities to study the problems of social unrest and counterinsurgency abroad while it remains blissfully blind to the unrest at home.

Another kind of menacing rigidity is on display in Congress, a faithful reflection of class and racial conditionings. A Congress which has no trouble raising $80 billions a year for our overgrown military machine—it provides guaranteed annual incomes for arms suppliers—cannot find $6 billions in budget cuts without reducing the relative pittance we spend on poverty and urban unrest. A Congress which goes on year after year allowing billions in tax loopholes for the rich cannot bring itself to enact a necessary tax boost except in the

(*Continued on Page Four*)

Why Not A Nixon-Humphrey Ticket?

A. . . . I really don't think Vietnam . . . should be seen by any of the candidates as a political issue. It is too dangerous to play politics with peace.*

Q. If the fighting goes on through the campaign, will that hurt you?

A. . . . If Nixon and Humphrey should be the candidates in the general election, I don't think our views of the war would be too far apart.

—Humphrey, U.S. News & World Report *May 27.*

* It's a pity David Lawrence's interviewer didn't ask Humphrey whether there would be any peace talks in Paris if first McCarthy and then Kennedy had not decided to "play politics with peace."

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What Would We Do If Hanoi Really Took Us Up on Free Elections? . . .

AT AN OFF-THE-RECORD-BUT-PLEASE-USE briefing on the new Tran Van Huong Cabinet in Saigon, the State Department suggested that if you add the 10% vote for the new Prime Minister when he ran for President last Fall to the vote cast for Thieu and Ky, you get 48% for the new government in South Vietnam. This wistful arithmetic still falls short of a majority. Actually, with seven tickets outlawed, two votes for every soldier, and the opposition press and candidates hobbled, Thieu and Ky only got 35% of the votes cast. The total vote in turn, according to the official figures, was only 51% of those old enough to vote. So the new Cabinet can claim only 45% of this 51% or less than one-quarter of the voting age population. The Department attempts to picture this as democracy on the march but Thich Tri Quang, leader of the largest organized non-Communist opposition, the militant Buddhists, is still in "protective custody", along with Truong Dinh Dzu, the peace candidate who polled the second highest vote. The new Cabinet, it was indicated, has the strong support of Ambassador Bunker; his expertise in jiggering "free elections" was demonstrated in the Dominican Republic. Latin America knows our skill at "guided democracy". At the Paris talks that same day (May 18) the U.S. spokesman emphasized that Harriman had swiftly replied "yes" when the North Vietnamese asked whether the U.S. would "dare" to grant "self-determination" to South Vietnam. Harriman cited Johnson's "one man, one vote" offer. The elections we held in 1967, like the memory of those we failed to hold in 1956, must make the other side fear a new swindle. Even so, if Hanoi is clever, it might put Johnson out on a limb with his own formula, and saw the limb off.

IN 1956 THE ABORTIVE HUNGARIAN REVOLT brought Gomulka out of jail in Poland and inaugurated a freer Polish regime. It would be a tragic irony if in 1968 a reviving Stalinism in Poland led to military action against a reviving liberalism in Czechoslovakia. Prague's firmest ally—in this strange turn of events—lies in Budapest, where Kadar slowly and cautiously has reconciled the Russians to those relaxations of rigid party rule which could have avoided the bloody events of 1956. Kadar's influence in the Kremlin is on the side of holding the reins lightly in Czechoslovakia, but Poland's neo-Stalinists fear the contagion of freedom, especially when popular revulsion is exposing the very same kind of frameups and anti-Semitism in recent Czech history (Slansky) which the Polish neo-Stalinists are using today. It is Warsaw now which is pushing Moscow toward a new armed intervention lest Czech success stir a new liberal upsurge in Poland.

ALMOST EVERYWHERE MANKIND seems to be in political convulsion. Georges Pompidou, who was still the Prime Minister of France as this was written, summed it up in words worthy of a poet and prophet. "The events which we have just experienced," he told the National Assembly May 14, even before the student demonstrations had widened into a general strike, "are not just a flash fire. Our civilization is being questioned, not the government, not the institutions, not even France, but the materialistic and soulless modern society." Generally speaking it is those who enjoy the benefits of our "materialistic and soulless modern society", like middle class white radicals in our own country, who speak of them so disparagingly. The French working class seems simply to want shorter hours and higher wages in and with which to enjoy these materialistic pleasures just as here blacks in revolt smash store windows to get television sets and sports jackets. The underclass everywhere wants exactly that soulless suburban living whence most of our rebel youth, whether hippie or New Left, has emerged. The working class is willing to give up its chains but not its washing machines, while the intellectuals turn on the air-conditioning the better to denounce

Financial Note for Poverty Marchers

"Speaking of big business, riot-control equipment stocks appear to have replaced gold stocks as the hot item on the stock exchanges. Since Jan. 1, Bangor Punta Corporation, makers of pistols, tear gas and chemical mace, rose from a low 35⅝ to a high 61⅛; Breeze Corporation, makers of tear gas, grenades and auxiliary equipment, from 17¾ to 37⅜; Baker Industries, from 28⅛ to 39¾, and Wachenhut, from 16½ to 22⅛. Though these stocks have slipped some from their highs, all on balance are strong gainers and bright investment prospects for those who don't have qualms about turning a quick buck on the unrest in the cities.

"Indeed, the boom is still to come. The law-enforcement market in the U.S. right now is a $2.5 billion item. But with 66 percent of the nation's police forces below authorized strengths and a hot summer ahead, there's a real future in riot-control equipment stocks. All you need is a little money and a stone conscience."

—John Deedy, Commonweal, *May 10.*

The Good Old Days When Courts Didn't Care How Confessions Were Obtained

"Somebody has said, 'You are turning the clock back.' Let me say to Senators that I want the clock turned back. I want it turned back to law enforcement."

—McClellan defending Title II, Crime bill, May 6.

"The crime with which these defendants, all ignorant negroes [sic], are charged, was discovered about one o'clock p.m. on Friday, March 30, 1934. On that night one Dial, a deputy sheriff, accompanied by others, came to the home of Ellington, one of the defendants, and requested him to accompany them to the house of the deceased, and there a number of white men were gathered, who began to accuse the defendant of the crime. Upon his denial they seized him, and with the participation of the deputy they hanged him by a rope to the limb of a tree, and having let him down, they hung him again, and when he was let down the second time, and he still protested his innocence, he was tied to a tree and whipped. . . . The record of the testimony shows that the signs of the rope on his neck were plainly visible during the so-called trial. A day or two thereafter the said deputy, accompanied by another, returned to the home of the said defendant and arrested him, and departed with the prisoner towards the jail in an adjoining county, but went by a route which led into the State of Alabama; and while on the way, in that State, the deputy stopped and again severely whipped the defendant, declaring that he would continue the whipping until he confessed, and the defendant then agreed to confess to such a statement as the deputy would dictate."

—The good old days to which McClellan would turn the clock back, quoted by Senators Case (R.-N.J.) *and Tydings* (D.-Md.) *in opposing Title II, from Brown v. Miss. (1936) in which the Supreme Court reversed the Miss. Supreme Court which had held this confession valid.*

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. . . Now's the Time to Get Out of Thailand Before It Becomes A New Vietnam

materialist technology.

WE HOPE THOSE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS alert to foreign policy issues will demand a full explanation of current U.S. negotiations with the government of Thailand. There are 47,000 U.S. military personnel there now, more than we had in South Vietnam until mid-1965. Now is the time to begin to get them out before we are faced with a full-scale second Vietnam. For four years the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok has been trying to get a status-of-forces agreement with the Thais. We need a pull-out, not a stay-in, agreement. The presence of so many U.S. troops has stirred the usual troubles. Even the government is hostile and suspicious. The Thai Premier told the Foreign Correspondents Club in Bangkok his country would rely exclusively, now and in the future, on its own forces in dealing with insurgency. When a U.S. correspondent asked whether our troops and bases would be allowed to stay after the Vietnam war was over, the Premier replied that was a bridge his government would cross when it came to it. Let's cross that bridge first, on the way out.

"NOTHING CONSTRUCTIVE CAN COME of a final separation" says the *New York Times* (May 18) of the split between the Auto Workers and the AFL-CIO. But if competition is the life of trade, it may also be the life of trade-unionism. From its very inception the unification of the A.F.L. with the CIO cast a pall on the latter, drained the CIO of militancy and idealism. It was a marriage of inconvenience, a surrender of Reuther to Meany. A monolithic labor movement, frozen into immobility by Meany's harsh and narrow one-man rule, unsympathetic to the Negro, reactionary in foreign policy and impervious to the new currents in domestic, was a dead-weight in the scales of national decision-making. The real question is whether, after all these years, much of the old spirit can be revived.

WORDS THAT WILL REVERBERATE BITTERLY IN GREECE: Clifford's defense of military assistance to the military dictatorship before Senate Foreign Relations May 17, "Greece continues to be a sturdy ally of ours." No Senator asked why we unloosed so much hostile propaganda against the majority Papandreou government while we praise this cabal of semi-literate colonels as "sturdy?" What if there is a popular uprising? Will we send U.S. troops to crush it if the Colonels can't?

ATTORNEY GENERAL CLARK on TV's Issues and Answers May 12 said there were no concentration camps in this country and no plans to prepare them. Nevertheless Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950 provides for detention camps in the event of war or national emergency for persons who might commit sabotage or espionage. This police state monstrosity was the handiwork of panicky Senate liberals. They put the detention camp provisions forward as a substitute for the Mundt-Nixon Internal Security Act only to have the right-wingers add it to the pending bill. The liberals then voted against the entire measure but failed to block it. Humphrey, a major mover in this silly maneuver, could make amends now by proposing a repealer.

What It Means to Be Poor

"The [Civil Rights] Commission has brought it starkly home to us in reminding us that were all Americans forced to live as jammed together as the people in several of the worst blocks of the Harlem section of New York City, we could be so piled on one another that all 200 million of us would be fitted together in three of New York's five boroughs, leaving the other two and the rest of the United States totally unpopulated. This communicates the dimensions of what it means to be poor."

—Mary Keyserling, Women's Bureau Director of the Labor Dept., to a Washington seminar, May 13.

Checking on North Vietnam's Reply to Another White House Whopperoo

"The area in which we are stopping our attacks includes almost 90% of North Vietnam's population, and most of its territory. Thus there will be no attacks around the principal populated areas, or in the food-producing areas of North Vietnam."

—LBJ's "abdication" broadcast of March 31.

"According to President Johnson's March 31 statement, referred to by the representative of the U.S. on May 13, it seems that the areas still submitted to bombings are negligible. In fact, it constitutes an important part of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, extending more than 300 kilometers in length, from the 17th to the 20th parallel, with a population of nearly 4,500,000, comprising provinces which are among the biggest and the most populated in Vietnam, such as Than Hoa and Nghean.

"Moreover, since March 31, American planes have concentrated their attacks on the above-mentioned area with a much greater intensity than before. They have bombed Vinh city (capital of Nghean province), Thanhhoa, Hatinh, Donghoi provincial capitals, populated areas and economic establishments in several districts of these provinces, and nearly all the communes of the Vinhbinh area. In the one day of April 19, 1968, alone, for instance, there were as many as 500 sorties, with 160 raiding missions of U.S. planes over North Vietnam, as against an average of 70 missions a day before the announcement of 'limited bombing.'"

—Mr. Thuy of North Vietnam in the Paris talks May 15.

An effort to straighten this out in the bowels of the bureaucracy, State and Pentagon, ran into the usual divisionary fog of words: We haven't counted them (the North Vietnamese); the kind of government they have in the North shifts people around as they please; anyway we're bombing trucks, not populated places. . . .

The latest U.S. Army handbook on North Vietnam says 90 percent of the population live in the Red River delta *"and the adjacent coastal plain to the south."* The Delta is above the 20th parallel but the plain extends "about 250 miles to the Demarcation Line" on the 17th parallel. Most of the coastal plain is below the 20th parallel. No figures are given for the population below the 20th parallel. But the 1960 North Vietnamese census report which the handbook's compilers used and which is available in the Library of Congress shows that almost 4,000,000 of the then 16,000,000 people in North Vietnam lived in the four southern provinces which make up the Panhandle. The odd-shaped northernmost of these is bisected by the 20th parallel but most of the province below the 20th is heavily populated coastal plain while most of the northern half above the parallel is sparsely settled mountain country. Robert Shaplen in the *New Yorker* for May 4 estimated that 27% of the North's people live below the 20th parallel. One Senator told us a State Department official admitted to him that the number of people below the 20th parallel was closer to 25% than 10%. The 10% was another White House whopperoo.

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Is the Target of Congress Crime or New Means of Racial Repression?

(*Continued from Page One*)

regressive form of a 10% surtax which—in a caricature of equality—will take another bite from the envelopes of the poorest paid as well as the undertaxed rich.

A Return to Legal Lynchings

Even worse distortions are evident in the crime bill. The rising rate of crime is a reality none would deny, but its roots lie in the festering slums and in racial conflict. Even on the more superficial level of this pending legislation, rational priorities are ignored. Effective gun control is voted down under pressure from a powerful gun-selling lobby and the desire of the white suburbs to arm itself for racial war. A major cause of disrespect for law lies in the corruption and brutality of poorly trained and poorly paid police forces Title I, the original Administration Crime in the Street bill sought to correct. But a coalition of Southern Democrats with right-wing Republicans and some mountain State Democrats like Mansfield of Montana—to his discredit—sought by Title II to turn back the clock of a whole generation of wise and humane Supreme Court decisions. Fortunately a group of liberals led by Tydings of Maryland and Hart of Michigan with assistance from the American Bar Association succeeded in defeating efforts to abolish Supreme Court jurisdiction over the State courts by habeas corpus and sharply to narrow its review powers in criminal cases. But they failed to block those portions of Title II which seek to overrule the Miranda, Mallory and Wade decisions in the Federal courts.

The essence of these decisions is to give the poor and ignorant the same rights when arrested as the well-heeled. Those who voted to overrule these decisions were really saying, as Senator Brooke put it, that "those aware of their rights shall be entitled to them, but those not aware shall be made the victims of ignorance." It has taken a long time and many decisions to end those coerced confessions and summary trials which were once the legal equivalent of lynching. Title II as passed would move back in that direction. Its target is not so much crime as the poor and the colored. This is a bad time to make them feel second class citizens. The mood of the ghetto street is for full emancipation; the mood of Congress is repression. Between them lies a new irrepressible conflict.

An ugly tide rises. Fearful local bus drivers are in revolt against a wave of robberies which culminated in the murder of a driver. Burned-out businessmen in the ghetto report threats of new burnings if they reopen. Mysterious fires increase in numbers. Mayor Washington outlines a program for rebuilding the three areas left devastated by the riots which followed the assassination of Martin Luther King. But his hopes of luring businessmen and private capital back to the ghettoes seem like fantasies; the urban gashes here are no more likely to be healed than those in Detroit, Newark and Watts without public funds and social planning. The only sure sign of private enterprise at work is that advertisement offering to board up houses and businesses vandalized or vacant.

Criminals and Communists

I was much impressed by the statement that the criminal section of the American Bar Association was opposed to Title II of this [Crime] bill. I discussed the matter with a man I regard as one of the finest and most courageous judges in America. I asked him why the criminal section of the American Bar Association would be against this Title. He called me back and said: "Senator, can't you figure that one out? Do you know who is the criminal section of the American Bar Association? Those are lawyers who defend criminals. Don't you realize that if crime has increased by 400 percent, their income has increased by 400 percent?" They have a vested interest in crime, and, naturally, they would be in favor of striking Title II, because they are in favor of crime. There are a number of law schools that do not want a blessed thing done about crime. I just cannot understand it. Why would any law school be in favor of a 400 percent increase in criminality? I have tried to learn why people do these things, and about the best explanation I can get would be to say that it is impossible to conceive why—conceivably it might be a Communist plot to destroy America.

—*Long* (D.-La.) *in the Senate, May 20 (abridged)*

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Washington, D. C. 20015

Second class postage paid at Washington, D. C.

I. F. Stone's Weekly. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Published every other Monday at 5618 Nebraska Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. An independent weekly published and edited by I. F. Stone; Circulation Manager, Esther M. Stone. Subscription: $5 in the U.S.; $6 in Canada; $10 elsewhere. Air Mail rates: $17 to Europe; $20 to Israel, Asia and Africa.

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